

Greek Parliament Votes To Ban Use of Torture And Punish Offenders

ATHENS — The Greek parliament, many of whose members suffered brutality under the country's former military dictatorship, unanimously passed a law Tuesday outlawing torture and setting jail terms for offenders.

Government officials said the law, under which torturers can go to prison for life if the victim dies, made Greece the first country to

include a specific ban on torture in its penal code.

In a rare show of unity by the 300-member body, the ruling Socialists, opposition conservatives of the New Democracy Party and pro-Moscow Communists joined in backing the bill.

"I hope this law will never have to be applied," said Fivos Koutsikas, a deputy who is parliamentary speaker for the government. He listed 10 leading supporters of the Socialist Party who were tortured under the 1967-1974 rightist junta. Lady Amalia Fleming, widow of Sir Alexander Fleming of Britain, the discoverer of penicillin, was among the Socialists who spoke for the bill. Lady Amalia had been deprived of her Greek citizenship by the military regime.

Apart from physical torture during investigations by any arm of the state, the law bans "affronts to dignity" such as keeping prisoners naked in isolation for long periods.

Officials who order torture are regarded under the new law to be as guilty as those who practice it. But torturers will not be excused because they were following orders, it states.

Although the law was passed unanimously, a dispute broke out when a New Democracy Party deputy, Nikos Katsaros, cited a report by Amnesty International saying physical and psychological torture was practiced all over the world, including in the Soviet bloc.

Constantine Vassalos, a Communist, retorted that the London-based human rights body was "an organ in the hands of imperialists whose only purpose is the defamation of socialist governments."

Later this month, a United Nations committee on human rights is due to discuss a Greek proposal for a world convention on torture. Justice Minister George Mangas told parliament.

UN Resolution Declares Peace A Human Right

The Associated Press

UNITED NATIONS, New York — The UN General Assembly has given overwhelming approval to a Soviet-backed resolution declaring peace to be a "sacred right" of mankind.

The vote, taken Monday, was 92-0, with 34 abstentions, including the United States and its allies, with the exception of Greece.

The resolution was proposed by Mongolia and backed by Bulgaria, Cuba, Equatorial Guinea, East Germany, Laos, Libya and Nicaragua. The Soviet Union and other Warsaw Pact nations spoke in support of the text.

It says: "Life without war serves as the primary international prerequisite for the material well-being, development and progress of countries, and for the full implementation of the rights and fundamental human freedoms proclaimed by the United Nations."

The resolution further states that people have a sacred right to peace and demands that the policies of states be directed toward the elimination of the threat of war, particularly nuclear war.

Joel Blocker, a spokesman for the U.S. mission, called it "a largely rhetorical exercise" that "has no teeth."



General Fidel V. Ramos at his press conference Tuesday.

Ramos Calls Communists Major Philippine Threat

By Abby Tan

Washington Post Service

MANILA — Lieutenant General Fidel V. Ramos, the Philippines' acting military chief of staff, said Tuesday that the growing Communist insurgency poses the greatest threat to national security in the nation.

General Ramos, who took over as military chief three weeks ago after General Fabian C. Ver was indicted with 25 other soldiers in the murder of the opposition leader Benigno S. Aquino Jr., also cited the scaled-down Muslim secession movement, the private armies of powerful individuals and crime syndicates as serious security problems.

In his first press conference since becoming acting chief of staff, General Ramos said that his immediate task was to reduce military casualties in the escalating war with the insurgents. He said that 765 troops have been killed in encounters with the Communist New People's Army and with Muslim rebels from January to September, an increase of 20 percent for the same period last year.

General Ramos also said that military investigators suspect a "pattern of arson" in three recent tourist hotel fires that killed 40 people. The Associated Press reported.

He said that three suspects — still at large — have been identified, and that investigators were trying to determine if they were

working together or alone. The investigation, he said, was being "pursued very intensively" but declined to elaborate further.

The increasing Communist threat in the Philippines was the subject of a recent study by U.S. congressional researchers, who reported that military abuses, economic hardships and the loss of government credibility were the principal reasons for the Communist "widening sphere of influence in the countryside."

General Ramos, 56, was pressed to be specific on plans to counter the growth of the insurgents, whose strength he estimated at 10,000 to 12,000 guerrillas, two-thirds of whom are armed. "I don't say I have all the answers to this problem," he said.

Marcos Plays Down Threat

President Ferdinand E. Marcos told a U.S. senator on Wednesday that many Filipino Communists do not understand their own ideology and that their movement poses no threat to his government. The Associated Press reported from Manila.

Mr. Marcos met for 90 minutes with Senator Christopher J. Dodd, a Democrat from Connecticut and a member of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee.

A government statement said that Mr. Marcos acknowledged the growing strength of the New People's Army in some parts of the country but said his armed forces were in control of the situation.

EC Council, Parliament Split on Cuts In Spending

Reuters

STRASBOURG, France — The European Parliament headed Tuesday for a conflict with national governments over proposed new curbs on European Community spending.

The Parliament's budget committee released a report showing major policy differences with the Council of Ministers over how to ensure tighter budgetary discipline in the near-bankrupt community.

The ministers agreed Monday to restrict the growth of agricultural spending and give finance ministers a bigger say in deciding cash limits. They also worked out measures to stop what some governments see as attempts by the Parliament to exceed its budgetary authority.

The report by a former president of the Parliament, Piet Dankert, a Dutch Socialist, and endorsed by the budget committee, said any move by the ministers to dictate to the assembly would be opposed.

It said decisions at the beginning of each year on the overall size of the budget must be made jointly by Parliament and the governments of the 10 member states.

The Dankert report, which is to be debated by Parliament on Thursday, also seeks to abolish a form of classification of community expenditure that effectively gives ministers final approval on the crucial Common Agricultural Policy.

The directly elected assembly's few powers mainly concern budgetary matters. Parliamentarians fear



Piet Dankert

that guidelines agreed by the ministers Monday could further restrict these powers.

On Tuesday, Parliament continued debate on the draft 1985 budget. It is to vote on it Wednesday.

No Progress in Entry Talks

EC foreign ministers did not report any significant progress Tuesday in daylong talks aimed at bringing Spain and Portugal into the trading bloc. The Associated Press reported from Brussels.

The ministers agreed, however, that an unspecified group of "high-level" EC political officials would meet next week to try to get the talks moving.

Spain and Portugal are scheduled to join the EC on Jan. 1, 1986, but there is doubt that agreement can be reached by then.

Separately, the EC farm ministers failed to agree on how to limit wine production once Spain and Portugal become members. They passed on the problem to the foreign ministers.

Poland Warns Rights Units

(Continued from Page 1)

ly news conference, said the results of the autopsy on the 37-year-old priest could not be made public because medical experts had not yet established whether he was alive when he was thrown — a bound and possibly gagged — into a reservoir.

Expressing outrage at the priest's death, groups of prominent intellectuals and former Solidarity activists in Warsaw, Krakow and Wrocław formed human committees to monitor police actions.

The formation of the committees marks the first attempt by the political opposition to undertake open opposition activities since the imposition of martial law at the end of 1981 that crushed the Solidarity free trade union movement. Martial law was lifted in July 1983, but

many of its restrictions remain in effect.

During the briefing, Mr. Urban also accused France of not wanting to "resume serious relations" and said that Polish authorities were considering dropping French-language courses in schools.

"Instead of a dialogue with Poland the French government is carrying out political monologues about Poland," Mr. Urban said.

On Nov. 7, Claude Cheysson, the French external relations minister, said the murder of Father Popieuszko should not be allowed to affect French-Polish relations but that there would be no high-level French political contacts with Warsaw because of the "excessive authoritarianism" of the Polish government.

Cuts in Spending Needed

(Continued from Page 1)

5-percent annual growth rate would leave a deficit of more than \$150 billion by 1989. Growth of 3 or 4 percent, which most economists consider more realistic, would produce a 1989 deficit of \$250 billion, close to the \$263 billion figure projected by the nonpartisan Congressional Budget Office.

He said there was little room for reductions in spending for the military and the poor to produce budget savings of more than a few tens of billions of dollars. "Deficit reduction," he said, "now requires facing up to the so-called entitlement programs of the middle class that have been basically excluded from past spending cuts."

Mr. Feldstein also said reducing the deficits would require reductions in Social Security benefits and increases in taxes.

U.S. Stroke Deaths Decline

Washington Post Service

MIAMI BEACH — The mortality rate of stroke, the third-largest cause of death in the United States, has dropped 45 percent in 16 years, largely due to improved detection and treatment of high blood pressure.

In July, Mr. Feldstein returned to the economics faculty at Harvard and his position as president of the National Bureau of Economic Research.

China Reports Free Election Of Party Aide

The Associated Press

BEIJING — Secret ballots have been used to elect a Chinese Communist Party provincial boss, the party newspaper Renmin Ribao (People's Daily) reported Tuesday.

The newspaper said that 300 county and provincial officials in the north-central province of Shaanxi gathered recently to nominate and "democratically elect" a provincial party secretary.

"The democratic nomination of the provincial party committee secretary is a successful experiment among senior cadres in the party's reform of the cadre system," the paper reported.

WORLD BRIEFS

OAU Is Told Africa's Future Is Grim

ADDIS ABABA, Ethiopia (AP) — The head of the Organization of African Unity said Tuesday that Africa faced an "unparalleled socio-economic decline" that was a product of drought, food shortages, declining production and mounting debt.

The OAU summit resumed Tuesday without Morocco, which withdrew from the organization Monday to protest the seating of the representatives of the Western Sahara independence movement. Morocco has been fighting a guerrilla war against insurgents of the Polisario Front seeking independence for the Western Sahara. Except for Zaïre, which temporarily suspended its membership in support of Morocco, the other delegations refused to join a boycott.

Peter Onu, the OAU's secretary-general, told delegates to the 20th summit of the OAU that "a very grim situation faces the OAU, a situation that requires some form of radical solutions by our member states."

"An overview of our economic situation during the past year," he said, "reaffirms the need of our countries to restructure our economies to ensure that they develop a self-sustaining growth process."

Baby Fae Is Put Back on Respirator

LOMA LINDA, California (UPI) — Baby Fae, the infant struggling to survive with a baboon heart, was placed back on a respirator Tuesday and given additional medication to suppress her body's effort to reject the animal organ.

"Baby Fae is continuing to experience the initial graft rejection episode," Joyce McClintock, a spokeswoman for the Loma Linda University Medical Center, said. "This has resulted in somewhat diminished heart function." Doctors reported Sunday that Baby Fae had undergone a moderate "rejection episode" late last week, which, they said, had been controlled by medication.

Doctors have said since the transplant operation on Oct. 26, when Baby Fae received the heart of a baboon, they expected that the baby's natural immune system would try to reject the heart several times, a normal expectation even in human-to-human transplants.

Le Monde May Name Operations Chief

PARIS (AP) — A group of shareholders of Le Monde has proposed naming a regional publisher as director of operations to lead the evening newspaper out of the worst crisis it has faced in its 40-year history, a member of the group said Tuesday.

The shareholder, who requested anonymity, said the group decided on the move Monday night in response to what some members of paper's staff saw as a threat by management to file for bankruptcy if unions did not accept deep wage cuts. Like other French national newspapers, Le Monde has been hit with a combined loss of advertising revenue and a drop in circulation.

The administrative position of director for operations would be re-established and given to Bernard Roux, 49, publisher of Courrier Picard, in Amiens, in northern France. He would work with the publisher and editor, André Laurens. Mr. Roux took over Courrier Picard in 1978 and redesigned it, using more graphics and increasing appeal to younger readers.

Astronauts to Try New Recovery Plan

CAPE CANAVERAL, Florida (AP) — Managers of the space shuttle Discovery agreed Tuesday with a recommendation by the ship's spawalkers that they attempt a new, untethered recovery plan when they go after a second stranded satellite on Wednesday.

Under the plan, an astronaut, Dale Gardner, is to jet over to the Westar 6 satellite, capturing it with a pole device, then guide it to the end of the shuttle's robot arm. With Mr. Allen grasping the 21-foot-tall (6.3-meter) satellite firmly by an antenna and a crossover, Mr. Gardner is to attach a docking collar on the base of the craft so that it can be berthed manually in the cargo bay.

Yugoslav Student Denies Conspiracy

BELGRADE (Reuters) — Gordan Jovanovic, a philosophy student on trial here, told a court Tuesday that conspiracy charges against him and five other intellectuals were "groundless."

Mr. Jovanovic, 23, the fourth of the six defendants to reply in court to the indictment, said friends had met several times at his apartment for informal discussions on a variety of topics but there was nothing illegal about the gatherings or anything that threatened the state.

The charges "are groundless," Mr. Jovanovic, the youngest of the defendants, said. The six are accused of conspiring in private meetings from 1977 to undermine Yugoslavia's Communist political system. The charge carries a jail sentence of five to 15 years.

880 U.K. Miners Return to Work

LONDON (AP) — Striking miners battled police Tuesday, but failed to stop nearly 900 miners from going back to work. At least 40 policemen were injured in the clashes.

The back-to-work campaign gathered momentum with promises by the National Coal Board of a £1,400 (\$1,764) package of pre-Christmas bonuses and wages and with the repeated breakdown of negotiations. Coal board officials said two more mines began producing coal for the first time since the strike was called March 12, bringing to five the number back in production since Monday. They also said the 880 men who quit the strike Tuesday raised the number of miners who have returned to work in the last nine days to more than 5,000.

Police reported at least 30 pickets were arrested as officers fought with militants who set fire to barricades and put up sidetrack ambushes in mining villages around Yorkshire, the heartland of the strike.

For the Record

Jake Butcher, a financier who once headed a \$1.5-billion chain of banks, was indicted Tuesday on charges of conspiracy and bank fraud in the failure of his United American banks in two Tennessee cities. (AP)

The Pinochet government on Tuesday sent 103 more people to internal exile to northern Chile. The exiles were among the group of people arrested during a military sweep Saturday in southern Santiago. (UPI)

A fifth person in the Oct. 12 bombing of the Grand Hotel at Brighton, aimed by the Irish Republican Army at Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher and her cabinet, died Tuesday. The victim, Muriel MacLean, was the wife of the president of the Scottish Conservative Association. (AP)

Bishop Desmond Tutu, this year's Nobel Peace Prize winner, was appointed Tuesday the first black Anglican bishop of Johannesburg, a South African church official said. (Reuters)

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BRIEFS

Future Is Grim

head of the Organization of African States, said the situation in Africa is "unparalleled in the history of drought, food shortages and death."

Without Morocco, which is to protest the seating of the independence movement, the Organization of African States is expected to be a "dead letter," he said. "The situation in Africa is a disaster. It is a disaster for the people of Africa. It is a disaster for the world."

on Respirator

babies face the infant's struggle to breathe on a respirator. The infant's body is held in a special device, and the infant's head is held in a special device. The infant's body is held in a special device, and the infant's head is held in a special device. The infant's body is held in a special device, and the infant's head is held in a special device.

Operations Chief

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New Recovery Plan

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Denies Conspiracy

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Return to Work

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A LIGHT MOMENT — Jorge Eduardo Tenorio, left, the Salvadoran foreign minister, joking with Nora Astorga, the Nicaraguan foreign minister, before the opening of the general assembly of the Organization of American States in Brasilia on Monday.

Sandinist Alert Is Seen As Aimed at Opposition

By Robert J. McCartney
Washington Post Service

MANAGUA — "Emergency communiqué No. 1," which has been put into effect by the Sandinist government, is the government's most dramatic response to fears, often stated in the past month, that the United States intends to take direct military action against Nicaragua.

With Monday's proclamation of a nationwide alert, armored vehicles began patrolling the streets, soldiers dug trenches for shelter against air raids and took up positions at scattered points along major roads, and militias received orders to stockpile food and to form teams to fight fires, provide first aid and care for children and old people in case of attack.

The alert reflected concern that the newly re-elected U.S. president,

Ronald Reagan, unencumbered by the political need to appear as a peacemaker, would increase pressure on the Sandinist government, according to diplomats and other political observers.

But the mobilization also served the Nicaraguan government's domestic purposes following its own recent elections, these sources said. A crisis atmosphere helps to keep occupied the pro-government militants that had been busy with the election campaign and provides a good excuse for a possible crackdown on the domestic opposition, the sources said.

Some political liberties that were granted during the three-month Nicaraguan campaign are being withdrawn. The sole opposition newspaper, *La Prensa*, reported that the Interior Ministry had tightened censorship considerably.

NATO Tries to Answer Critics Of Conventional Arms Budget

(Continued from Page 1)

Europeans' attention, so it was helpful," said a West German general in NATO headquarters. He added: "But if he goes on now, when Europe is starting to move, it will be seen not as a signal, but as a jolting — one parliament trying to dictate to the other parliaments, in an alliance of sovereign states."

Mr. Nunn says he is only asking Europeans to live up to their promises of improved conventional defense. European governments, aware of public unease over nuclear weapons stirred by the debate over NATO's new Pershing-2 and cruise missiles, say they want to "raise the nuclear threshold," that is, increase the length of time NATO forces could resist an attack conventionally.

Another motive for conventional improvements is to increase deterrence. The Soviet Union is believed to be skeptical of U.S. resolve to wage a nuclear war if the NATO front collapsed quickly.

With their present supplies, NATO armies could hold out conventionally for only a few days. That is considerably less than the time, usually estimated at 10 days, that it would take for significant U.S. reinforcements to become operational in Europe.

This outlook has "finally convinced Europeans to drop their old ideological objections to anything other than the threat of massive nuclear retaliation to deter war," says a Brussels-based military adviser. Now the problem is the extra cost of conventional defense.

In contrast to the U.S. economic recovery, Europe's economies show little sign of growth, so few governments can increase their military budgets to match the U.S.-led conventional buildup. European parliamentarians are practically in agreement that Europe cannot live up to its NATO commitment, made in 1977, to increase military spending by 3 percent a year after inflation.

Since the 3-percent goal seems unattainable, Mr. Nunn says European governments should squeeze more "output" from their budgets in the form of firepower and survivable airfields.

The issue has come into sharp focus because of the Reagan administration's big military budgets. The United States plans to spend \$100 billion over the next five years for fighter aircraft and ammunition for U.S. forces in Europe.

But NATO reports show that this U.S. firepower will be useless if American fighters find no airfields from which to operate and Europe-

an allies run out of ammunition quickly. The West German draft, Mr. Nunn says, is useless militarily if ammunition runs out in a few days.

As Mr. Nunn said in a Senate debate in June: "The U.S. expenditures are now futile, absolutely futile, because they are not going to make any difference in the balance of power." If Europe does not want to pay for a credible conventional deterrent, he argues, far fewer American troops are needed in Europe, where they essentially symbolize the threat of a U.S. nuclear response.

This "tripwire strategy" will not deter the Soviet Union, according to NATO specialists, because the United States has lost its overwhelming nuclear advantage.

In effect, they say, a U.S. troop withdrawal would signal a declining commitment to Europe, undermining the allies and emboldening the Soviet Union.

Mr. Nunn acknowledges that his threatened troop pullout is designed to spur the allies to greater self-defense efforts. "We have always had to apply pressure for burden-sharing to become a reality" with Europe, he has said.

His views carry special weight because he has been an influential supporter of NATO. In 1974, he helped defeat the Mansfield amendment — a proposal for unconditional U.S. troop withdrawal from Europe by a fellow Democrat, Senator Mike Mansfield.

Increasingly, however, Mr. Nunn has criticized NATO for relying too heavily on nuclear weapons and has accused the Reagan administration of lavish spending on arms without having a strategy.

His ire reportedly crystallized last January when, at a Brussels lunch, NATO ambassadors told him that European governments would not provide any extra military spending.

Partly as a result of Mr. Nunn's subsequent campaign, the Reagan administration and European governments are cooperating more closely on conventional defense, according to U.S. and NATO officials.

"Last year, Washington thought NATO consisted of nuclear missiles to be deployed," a U.S. diplomat said. "But now the Reagan administration is thinking about conventional defense."

Any renewed congressional revolt, he reasoned, will have less chance of success now that the Reagan administration is focusing on the problems of conventional defense in Europe.

U.S. Questions Arms Imports Of Sandinists

(Continued from Page 1)

erment begins using Mi-24s, the insurgents would respond by attacking "strategic targets."

The rebel leader, Adolfo Calero Portocarrero of the Nicaraguan Democratic Front, said Monday that the helicopters have a destructive power "beyond imagination."

"We know that about six of them arrived in Managua during October," Mr. Calero said, citing what he said were Central American intelligence sources. "Maybe they are being assembled. If they are used against Nicaraguans — our forces, villages that support us or whatever — there is going to be a serious escalation."

"We are going to strike at strategic targets we have avoided up to now," Mr. Calero said, adding: "I am talking about the oil refinery in Managua, which we had said we would not attack, sugar mills at the height of the harvest and similar targets. We have the capacity to do some real damage."

"These copters have never been used in this hemisphere," he said of the Mi-24s. "In Afghanistan, the Soviets have used them to wipe out whole villages. For this kind of war, the Mi-24 is the deadliest weapon the Soviets have."

According to U.S. military analysts, the Mi-24 is capable of destroying tanks and shooting down other aircraft.

American military specialists have said that the Mi-24s would give the Nicaraguan government a new advantage over the insurgents. But the officials say the helicopters would add little to Nicaragua's offensive power beyond its own borders because their operational range is limited to 210 miles (340 kilometers).

Mr. Calero said he believed the recent uproar over the supposed shipment of MiG fighter jets to Nicaragua had served as "a smoke-screen for the real danger, which is the Mi-24s."

Latin Leaders Disagree

Latin American leaders differed sharply Tuesday over how to structure a peace plan to end the fighting in Central America. United Press International reported from Brasilia, setting a timetable for a cease-fire and arms freeze and verification of the pact remained the major areas of disagreement.

The foreign ministers of Colombia and Mexico defended their Contadora group peace plan at the annual conference of the Organization of American States. The plan, drawn up with Venezuela and Panama, calls for a cease-fire and arms freeze but does not include an enforcement procedure.

4 Salvadorans Barred by U.S.

United Press International

SAN SALVADOR — The U.S. Embassy denied visas to four Salvadoran women who were to receive the Robert F. Kennedy Prize in Washington on Nov. 20 for their human rights work. One of the women said Monday. They are members of the Monsignor Oscar Arnulfo Romero Committee of Mothers of the Politically Imprisoned, Disappeared and Assassinated.

Sharon's Case Against Magazine Opens

By David Margolick
New York Times Service

NEW YORK — A major U.S. news organization reported on the purported misconduct of a prominent military leader in a far-off, unpopular war. The official said his reputation had been blackened by the charge, which he denied. So he filed a multimillion-dollar libel suit against the media giant in U.S. District Court.

It all sounds like General William C. Westmoreland's case against CBS. But it describes another, equally explosive legal battle, that began Tuesday six floors up in the federal courthouse in New York City: the libel suit of the former Israeli defense minister Ariel Sharon against Time magazine.

Mr. Sharon, the architect of Israel's war in Lebanon and now minister of industry and commerce, has asserted that he was libeled in 1983 by a Time article suggesting that he condoned, if not directly encouraged, the September 1982 massacre by Christian Phalangists of Palestinian and Lebanese in the Sabra and Chatila refugee camps near Beirut.

Last year, shortly after the article appeared, Mr. Sharon filed a \$50-million lawsuit against Time. He said that not only had he been defamed, but also that to accuse any Jew of mass murder was a "blood libel" against Israel and the Jewish people.

The article, he said, had injured his political career and his good name.

"I brought it to court because I knew that the day must come and steps must be taken that you will never dare again to libel," Mr. Sharon told lawyers for Time during a deposition. "Not the Jewish people, not Israel, and not me — not you and not any other newspaper."

Time has called the assertions "an attempt by a foreign politician to justify his conduct of a war by his state and to enhance his political reputation," as well as to "punish criticism of Israel's conduct during the invasion and occupation of Lebanon."

More than to vindicate his honor, Time has said, Mr. Sharon is seeking "to shed his responsibility for the massacre of civilians by an armed force acting at his orders and under his command."

Technically, the Sharon litigation hinges on two issues of fact: Did, as Time reported, a secret appendix to a report prepared by an Israeli commission investigating the Beirut massacres state that Mr.



Ariel Sharon

Sharon discussed the Phalangists' need for revenge after the assassination of the Lebanese president-elect, Bashir Gemayel? And second, even if the appendix does not so state, is the charge still true?

Not surprisingly, however, given the volatility of the issues and personalities involved in the case, its dimensions have gone well beyond a few discreet legal and factual issues. If the Westmoreland case has become a courtroom re-enactment of the Vietnam War, Sharon vs. Time promises to do the same for Israel's war in Lebanon.

Time is represented by Cravath, Swaine & Moore. Cravath is opposed by another of New York's largest law firms, Shea & Gould, and the case involves two of the city's best-known corporate litigators: Thomas D. Barn of Cravath, who successfully defended IBM in its fight against a federal antitrust action, and Milton Gould. They will argue the case before a jury of four men and two women, none of whom is Jewish.

Time's legal fees in the case already exceed \$1 million. Mr. Sharon has said he has sold his house in Tel Aviv to pay for legal expenses, although Shea & Gould says it is representing him for a "substantially reduced" fee.

Time's lawyers say that an examination of Mr. Sharon's connection to the massacre must include a more general inquiry into the entire Lebanese operation.

They intend to argue, as well, that Mr. Sharon, whom they have referred to as "a bloodthirsty, in-subordinate militarist," had so poor a reputation before "Opera-

tion Peace for Galilee" — the Lebanon invasion — began in 1982 that he suffered no damages at all, and that he enjoys continuing political prominence.

Mr. Sharon's lawyers, on the other hand, intend in essence to put Time magazine — its writers, editors and fact-checkers — on trial. They are claiming that David Halevy, a Time correspondent in Israel, had a documented bias against Mr. Sharon and had previously been disciplined for poor work. His report was unchallenged, they have said, both because of ineffective editing and fact-checking and what they have called the magazine's "vicious anti-Sharon and anti-Israel bias."

The Israeli government, citing national security concerns, has refused to permit the parties to see the secret annex, known as Appendix B, along with other key documents collected by the Kahane Commission, which investigated the Sabra and Chatila massacres.

In addition, the Israeli attorney general, Yitzhak Zamir, barred five prominent military officials earlier this week from testifying at the trial.

The government's action, lawyers for Time have asserted, is part of its general policy of both condoning and partly subsidizing the Sharon case. Time also has contended that Mr. Sharon has hidden

behind the same national security cloak whenever it suited him.

To counter Time's insistence that Mr. Sharon already is so sullied that he is "libel-proof," his lawyers plan to call a number of character witnesses, including Senator Alfonse M. D'Amato, a New York Republican; District Attorney Robert M. Morgenthau of New York; the author Leon Uris, and the civil rights leader Bayard Rustin.

Cravath, Swaine & Moore also is representing CBS in the Westmoreland case. The two lawsuits have legal as well as factual similarities.

Both cases, Cravath lawyers argue, involve the improper use of a libel action to vindicate controversial government policies. In addition, they maintain, Time was neither reckless nor malicious in preparing the article, as would be required to prove libel under U.S. Supreme Court standards.

The Time article, "The Verdict is Guilty," was the cover article in the Feb. 21, 1983, issue. The article stated that Time "had learned" that Appendix B contained details of Mr. Sharon's visit to the home of the Gemayel family in Bikfaya, Lebanon, notably that "Sharon reportedly discussed with the Gemayels the need for the Phalangists to take revenge for the assassination of Bashir, but the details of the conversation are not known."

Ex-CIA Deputy Asserts Westmoreland Could Not Have Misled U.S. Experts

The Associated Press

NEW YORK — It would have been "virtually impossible" for the U.S. military command in Vietnam to mislead intelligence experts in Washington about the strength of enemy forces before the 1968 Tet offensive, a former deputy director of the Central Intelligence Agency has testified.

George A. Carver, the CIA's chief of Vietnamese affairs from 1966 to 1973, was testifying Monday in the \$120-million libel suit filed by retired General William C. Westmoreland against CBS television network.

General Westmoreland, who commanded U.S. forces in Vietnam from 1964 to 1968, contends he was defamed by a CBS documentary in 1982 that charged there was a conspiracy by his command to underestimate the strength of Communist forces in late 1967 to early 1968. The program charged

that, as a result, the power of the offensive took U.S. forces by surprise.

Mr. Carver testified that intelligence analysts in Washington had access to the same information as General Westmoreland's command. This would have precluded any attempt to cover up the true enemy strength, he contended.

In a memo presented as evidence at the trial on Friday, Mr. Carver complained to Richard Helms, the CIA director, that the "juggling of figures" by General Westmoreland's staff and "tact or oblique lunchtime and corridor admissions" by his officers "all point to the inescapable conclusion" that General Westmoreland ordered that Communist strength should not exceed a "ceiling" of 300,000.

But after a conference in September 1967, Mr. Carver reported: "We now have agreed to a set of figures Westmoreland endorses."

Murders Set Off Law-and-Order Debate in France

Reuters

PARIS — The deaths of three Turkish immigrant workers in two separate shootings and the killing of nine elderly women in Paris have set off a bitter debate over law and order in France, involving the press, politicians and the police.

In reporting the crimes, newspapers used such headlines as "Racism, the reasons for hatred" and "Who is torturing our grandmothers to death?" Meanwhile, opposition calls mounted for tougher government action on public safety.

An organization representing police officers denounced what it called the bad management and misuse of police manpower. Unions have complained in recent months that too many policemen were being wasted on routine paperwork and petty complaints.

Two Turkish immigrants were killed and five wounded in Châteaufort in western France when a man fired on a team on a rifle on Sunday. In Epône, near Paris, another Turkish worker was shot to death while trying to enter a factory on strike.

There have been arrests and

charges of murder in both cases.

In Paris, two more elderly women were found murdered in their apartments Monday, bringing to nine the total killed in similar circumstances in just over a month. Most of them were tortured. Seven died in the northern 18th district of the city.

The deputy mayor of Paris, Jean Tiberi, representing the opposition Rally for the Republic party, attacked the Socialist government over the killings after President François Mitterrand visited a city morgue to pay his respects to one of the victims on Monday.

"It is not enough to pay tribute to the victims of these abominable events, or give speeches which do not reassure anybody," Mr. Tiberi said. "The crimes committed in Paris face the government with heavy responsibilities that they have been incapable of assuming."

The government has ordered extra police into Montmartre. Police suspect that most of the dead women were victims of assaults seeking money for drugs. No arrests have been made.

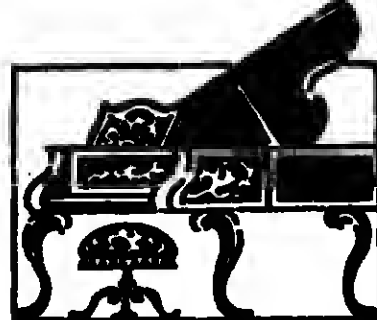
Interior Minister Pierre Joxe told French radio that a study on

changing legislation on firearms control was under way. But he made no concrete proposals.

Jean-Marie Le Pen, leader of the extreme right National Front party, who campaigns on an anti-immigration platform, was quoted Tuesday by the leftist newspaper *Liberation* as saying the deaths of the Turkish workers bore out his arguments.

"With rising unemployment, we can expect incidents and crimes like this. But I am against killers, whoever they are and whoever their victims," he was reported as saying.

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INTERNATIONAL Herald Tribune

Published With The New York Times and The Washington Post

Reagan and the Russians

The word is that President Reagan is being presented an options paper by Secretary of State George Shultz and National Security Adviser Robert McFarlane. It is described as giving the president an orderly basis on which to choose what to emphasize in foreign policy in his second term. The effort is commendable. Events have moved on, and the president cannot just say more of the same. He surely learned the first time around that it is not enough simply to declare good intentions in a dozen policy areas. Choices must be made of where to invest presidential time, energy and commitment. Nuclear nonproliferation, which is one of the second-term options, is a characteristic area, and a vital one, where in the absence of a firm presidential interest matters drift — toward proliferation.

At the same time, Mr. Reagan needs to do more than select large-bore policy options from a paper. On the central issue of foreign policy, Soviet-American relations, he needs to fit means to ends: to decide what particular steps to take and, specifically, to decide who among his lieutenants is to be in charge. Because the plain truth is that Mr. Reagan is currently presiding over an administration immobilized by its internal tensions on all ques-

tions of consequence having to do with the Soviet-American strategic balance.

There is talk in some parts of the administration of naming a "czar" for arms control, presumably meaning someone with the authority to cut through departmental and bureaucratic conflicts and make things happen. Mr. Reagan says he contemplates appointment of an arms control "czar." The secretary of state argues that arms control must be managed "in one place" — the State Department. All this makes plain that a lot of people, including the president, feel a need for some new arrangement to manage the conflicts on this question in his administration. Its leading figures could agree on a first-term arms buildup but are far from agreement on whether and how to convert rearmament into a more stable disposition between the two great powers.

The urgent question, however, is not organizational but substantive. What does Ronald Reagan want from the Russians, and with the Russians, in his second term? When he addresses that fundamental question, and only then, it will be easy enough to draw the organizational charts and fill in the boxes. What is hard is deciding to do it.

—THE WASHINGTON POST.

Who Controls the CIA?

"Neutralizing," it develops, means not murder but only removal from office, and "removal" from the CIA of those who counsel murder in Nicaragua means only a reprimand. In plainer English, the administration's creative semantics means stonewalling, to impede a vital inquiry into the means, ends and accountability of the Central Intelligence Agency.

Three important questions were raised by the insurgents' manual that came to light a month ago. How could the CIA let its agents adapt a revolutionary tract that violated the president's directive against political assassination? How could it justify an insurgency when the president had vowed that he did not aim to overthrow the Sandinist government? How reliable are the controls over the CIA?

On every count the response has been disturbing. The agency was left to examine itself. Summarizing its findings, the White House now insists that the manual, although ambiguous here and there, had only "worthwhile" poses. "No matter what gloss is put on words like 'neutralize,' the primer's unmistakable purpose was to promote the destruction of Nicaragua's leftist regime. Whoever wrote it, and whoever approved it, betrayed the president's word and disobeyed Congress."

In December 1983 Congress condemned the use of "military equipment, military training or advice, or other support for military activities . . . for the purpose of overthrowing the government of Nicaragua." That resolution led to an appropriations amendment clearly confining aid to Nicaraguan rebels to the objective of interdicting the smuggling of arms from Nicaragua to leftists elsewhere.

Other Opinion

A Palestinian Cue to Reagan?

The election of an American president invariably brings forth from the Middle East expressions of hope and warnings of impending doom. Last week was no exception. More worryingly, it also brought again to the surface some of the discredited myths which for too long have surrounded the Arab-Israeli conflict. The greatest of these, perpetuated principally by Arab countries, is that a new or re-elected U.S. president will somehow discover the desire or capacity to impose on Israel what they consider to be a just resolution of the Palestinian issue. It has been assumed that this conversion will occur because of the inherent justice of the Arab cause, not because the Arab countries have adopted policies which make an American change of heart more likely.

President Reagan should by now have disabused the Arab countries of that notion. During his first four years Israel has been brought into closer alliance with the United States, occupied another slice of Arab territory in Lebanon and established itself yet more emphatically on the West Bank and the Gaza Strip, the home of 1.2 million Palestinians.

The Arab countries have contributed to this disaster by their failure to grasp the opportunities which tend to present themselves in the Middle East to the wake of climatic events. The Israeli invasion of southern Lebanon provided just such a moment by provoking President Reagan into launching his Sept. 1, 1982, peace proposals. Although rejected out of hand by Israel, the proposals did offer a chance for more moderate Arab nations to explore a process which Washington believed could eventually have led to a substantial Israeli withdrawal from the West Bank and Gaza. King Hussein was only frustrated in his wish to test the sincerity of the American offer by the refusal of Yasser Arafat to risk a definitive split in the ranks of the PLO.

That split will be confirmed if Mr. Arafat goes ahead with a meeting of the Palestine National Council in the face of bitter opposition from Syria. The importance of the meeting is that it could open the way to productive cooperation between the moderate wing of the PLO, Jordan and Egypt. If they were jointly to express a conditional willingness to involve themselves in a relaunched Reagan plan, it could provide the signal for the United States to be tempted back into the arena. Israel, under its new government, also wants the Americans to become more involved.

Rajiv Gandhi: A Good Start

The impression of indecision that Rajiv Gandhi gave in the first hours after the assassination of Indira Gandhi has been dispelled quickly. Dismissal of high officials in the security services, prosecution of Congress-I activists accused of abetting Hindu assassinations in the recent massacres of Sikhs and compensation arrangements for the victims' families have gone down well, even if this is not enough to restore harmony between the two communities. By promptly occupying the great void left by the death of a leader perceived by many Indians as a "mother" and symbol of hope, Rajiv Gandhi has shown calmly and with dignity that the succession could be assumed.

—Le Monde (Paris).

FROM OUR NOV. 14 PAGES, 75 AND 50 YEARS AGO

1909: Tourists Are Misers in Church
BERLIN — Rich Americans and English, who form a large percentage of the foreign visitors to Berlin, have given the Rev. J.H. Fry, chaplain of St. George's Church, Montbijoupark, considerable cause for complaint. They are far too niggardly in contributing to the collections at the English Church. "They live in Berlin," he said to his [Nov. 7] sermon, "in the most expensive hotels, and they put bronze and nickel coins in the collection bag which they would be ashamed to offer a waiter." The "Berlin and Dresden Daily Record" publishes a letter calling it a scandal that well-to-do tourists throw away money on car food, costly wines, automobiles, boxes at the Opera and other luxuries of modern Berlin, but are most economical in St. George's Church.

1934: Did the New Deal Win Heavily?
PARIS — According to Henry P. Fletcher, chairman of the Republican National Committee, the vote for the New Deal in the election of Democratic Representatives, Senators and Governors at the elections November 6 was approximately 15,000,000, while the vote against the Administration, registered through the election of Republican candidates, was 13,000,000. If these figures conform to the official count then the victory gained by the Administration in winning two-thirds control of both Houses is not an overwhelming approval of the President's recovery and relief policies. It is far from the clear-cut mandate the Democrats claim. Last week's vote shows that the Republican Party is far from dead, as Democrats would have the country believe.



Personnel for Four More Years of Foreign Policy

By Flora Lewis

PARIS — Now foreign leaders are asking where President Reagan wants to take U.S. policy in four more years. There have been important changes in the world since he first moved into the White House. They bring new opportunities for U.S. initiative, new problems and new approaches to old problems. The period between an election and the inauguration should be a time for reviewing what the old assumptions produced and trying to learn some lessons for the future, not just plunging on in the euphoria of landslide.

The first clues should come with Mr. Reagan's decisions on cabinet and sub-cabinet appointments. The most troublesome problems in foreign policy during the first term came from the failure to establish disciplined teamwork and from the unending internal tug-of-war that resulted.

Strobe Talbott's revealing book, "Deadly Gambits," on the failed U.S.-Soviet missile negotiations recounts in great detail how the fighting continued even after presidential directives were issued, because they tended to leave vital questions open for interpretation. The book documents a distressing story of non-decision-making, almost but not really echoing the judgment of the cartoon character Pogo that "We have met the enemy, and it is us." But Mr. Talbott's book is also encouraging, because it makes some conclusions possible about how American leadership can understand and improve its capacity for effective negotiation. It is recommended reading for Mr. Reagan.

The Russian officials will surely have read the book and it should make them wonder about their

handling of intricate diplomacy. But it will not give them an advantage. Rather, they are at a disadvantage because their lack of free comment deprives them of such a rigorous, objective study of their own procedures and mistakes.

The key antagonists in the U.S. arms control issue — whether for a peacekeeper's role in history or for a Gaullist-like legacy of national intransigence — in order to achieve it he needs a team that can agree on a priority and an approach set clearly in his mind, not a Mitt and Left set.

The visible strains between the Pentagon and State have been much more complicated than rivalry on two sides of the Potomac and they have covered much more than the arms control issue. It is hard to see how the current cast of players, with shifting alliances to the Joint Chiefs, the arms control agency, the CIA and even Treasury and Commerce on related questions, can ever be brought together in a coherent American purpose.

Nicaragua is another example of befuddlement in the corridors of power. It now appears that the crisis that loomed surprisingly quickly after the

election was an attempt to warn Moscow and scare the Sandinistas, not a preparation to invade. But to what desired effect? To undermine the Managua government, which has rallied its people, or to push it toward an agreement that Washington now dislikes? Here again there are personal quarrels among senior officials scudding on opposite tracks. If there is a policy it is to accommodate their contradictions, which may calm Washington but does nothing for Central America.

The Middle East, southern Asia, southern Africa and South America remain troubled areas where events have moved a substantial way since Mr. Reagan entered the White House. All four regions merit another hard look.

And the North-South relation has shifted ground, moving from abrasive ideological showdowns to growing understanding of the need for concrete development programs, especially to produce food. This change offers an important area for newly active U.S. policy.

The people who form and implement it make a big difference. Senator Jesse Helms — re-elected with the undiplomatic endorsement of 22 U.S. ambassadors, while others discreetly refused — had a heavy-handed role in vetting Mr. Reagan's first foreign policy team. The president has had time to see who makes the machinery purr, who clogs it and who provokes policy stalemate.

His aims in a second term will begin to show whether his choices now are for records of competence and results or for ideology and skulduggery.

The New York Times.

Recalling Indira Gandhi: Whispers to Kyatsandra

By Nazeer Ahmed

LOS ANGELES — It was a cool evening in early 1978. The sky was clear and a gentle breeze blew in from the Western Ghats. It was the best time of the year to be in my hometown of Tumkur on the Deccan plateau, 40 miles west of Bangalore in the state of Karnataka.

It also was an unusual time in an unusual political year in India. The Congress Party, which had ruled the state since 1947, had just split into two, one side supporting Indira Gandhi and the other opposing her. She had lost the previous elections and was out of power. The ruling Janata Party was doing everything it could to end her career.

In the legislative district of Tumkur, the situation was also rough. The previous Legislative Assembly, and most of the local political bosses, had left Congress and joined the opposition. Janata was mounting a strong campaign. I was the Congress-I candidate for the assembly in that district. The dusty cart roads linking the villages were lined with people expecting her darshan. There were farmers, their dhobis soiled from the day's work in the fields; old women, their furrowed faces as apert as India's even children waiting on the dirt roads.

Mrs. Gandhi was understandably popular in these villages. She had abolished absentee land ownership and distributed land to those who cultivated it. She had instituted a pension plan for the aged. She had given the poor a stake in the process by forging an electoral alliance of farmers, untouchables, shepherds, tobacco workers and Muslims — the people living the streets to catch a glimpse of their benefactor.

She was to cover more than 100 miles by car that day, an astronomical distance considering that it meant campaigning in about as many remote villages. At each stop, she would stop, wade through the waiting throngs, mount a dais, especially erected for her and make a brief speech. It did not matter that she spoke in Hindi, which the villagers did not understand. It was sufficient that they saw and heard her.

One of the larger villages where she was to speak was Urugere. The plan was for her to be there by 8 p.m., but everyone knew it would be much later. People started arriving in the late afternoon. In the timeless environs of rural India waiting was no problem. Sweets vendors and tea stalls did a brisk business; movie songs blared out of loudspeakers installed for the occasion.

The crowd waited patiently. It was 1:15 a.m. when an advance van of policemen signaled her impending arrival. The atmosphere was electric: Shouts of "Indira Gandhi, zindabad" (Long live Indira Gandhi) rent the air. An old convertible inched its way through the crowd. A frail lady stood up in the car with folded hands. She looked exhausted, and her face was red from the dust. The crowd surged forward.

She said a few words in Hindi. Her voice was hoarse and hardly audible. No one could hear amid the noise and chants. When a group of villagers lunged toward her car speaking Kannada, the local language, she could not understand. "What is the matter?" she asked. A villager translated for her: "These people are from Kyatsandra, seven miles from here behind the hills. Several thousand are waiting in that village for your darshan."

Kyatsandra was not on the itinerary, but to Mrs. Gandhi it did not matter. She invited one of the villagers into her car, and told the driver to make a detour to Kyatsandra.

As her car lurched off on the bumpy road a few of us followed in a jeep. It was 2 a.m. when she mounted the dais in Kyatsandra and tried to speak, but her voice was

gone. She asked her translator to step in. Wiping her watering eyes, she whispered as her words were translated into Kannada. The villagers applauded; many wept.

That was Indira Gandhi, a leader of the masses. There was a synergy between her and the people. She gave them all she had, and they showered their adulation on her.

I met Mrs. Gandhi two more times that year — once when she was campaigning for Parliament and again when she revisited Tumkur. There a throng of 20,000 people surged toward her podium to get close to her. The podium shook; the atmosphere was tense. The police advised her to cut her speech short and leave. Undaunted, she completed her speech, and even as the podium shook under her feet she graciously turned to my American wife and acknowledged her greeting.

Others may have known Indira Gandhi as a world leader, a ruthless tactician, a cool, shy lady. But standing with the masses she was one of them — breathing the same dust, giving of herself to them even as they sustained her in her trials.

The writer was a member of the Karnataka Legislative Assembly in 1978 and 1979 and now lives in Los Angeles. He contributed this comment to the Los Angeles Times.

The Help for America's Poor Hasn't Been Enough

By Robert C. Kaiser

This is the second of two articles.

WASHINGTON — Most Americans believe they have done their bit for society's losers, who no longer need help. This is certainly understandable. During the last generation extraordinary efforts were made to create opportunities and a new safety net for the poor, and particularly blacks, but it is hard to claim that those efforts were successful.

Despite billions of dollars spent and sweeping new laws and Supreme Court decisions creating new opportunities, the number of society's losers has declined by only about a fourth in the last quarter century and has risen in the last decade. Poverty was nearly halved between 1960 and 1975; it held steady until 1979 and has risen sharply since — whether or not the value of "net cash benefits" to the poor is considered. America has failed to break the culture of poverty, and for some parts of the population, notably for many blacks, conditions have become worse.

This is a shocking record.

A decade ago many specialists were convinced that they would see the poverty rate fall to 5 or 6 percent by the mid-1980s. Apparently, no one predicted the dramatic movement in the opposite direction. Now we seem to have lost control of the problem.

Speaking of the recovery, in recent congressional testimony, economist Peter Gottschalk, of the Brookings Institution said, "There was a rise in the poverty rate, but it was not a rise, but it did not lift all boats equally." He attributed this to two factors.

First, the poor suffered disproportionately during the 1981-82 recession, and benefited much less than richer Americans from the subsequent recovery. The movements of

the national economy do not affect all groups proportionally.

Second, demographic changes, particularly the increase in the number of households headed by women, have increased poverty regardless of the economy's performance. (Nearly half the officially poor Americans live in families headed by women; 35.7 percent of all families headed by women live in poverty.)

Mr. Gottschalk predicts that the poverty rate will fall by perhaps one percentage point when the 1984 figures are released, and maybe half a point more if there are two more years of economic growth. So a four-year Reagan boom will only bring the poverty rate back to its 1980 level.

This suggests an indefinite prolongation of economic hardship for more than 30 million American citizens. The suffering of a substantial minority of Americans remains a permanent, if generally unmentioned, feature of the American dream.

Some conservatives have acknowledged the need to reach out to the poor and the blacks to validate the conservative vision of a better America for all its citizens. Representative Jack Kemp, the New York Republican, has said often that conservatives will not be able to claim success until their policies benefit the poor as well as the better-off. And Adam Meyerson, editor of the Heritage Foundation's Policy Review, wrote recently: "There is a river, a wide Mississippi, that separates the majority of black Americans from the conservative po-

problem. Bleeding hearts have gone out of style. Who said life was fair? A national preoccupation with money and wealth is as old as the republic. Social critics may denounce present greed and selfishness, yet in truth history is full of both.

But there is more than that in the past. In his great acceptance speech at the 1952 Democratic convention, Adlai Stevenson listed "materialism" among the country's ills. That, and not the Jerry Falwell version, is the Christian strain that is strongest in American history. We may be greedy and selfish, but paradoxically we deal nobly and generously with our less fortunate countrymen. You have to wonder when that spirit will return. Just now it seems overdue.

The Washington Post.

LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

Not a Mandate for War

In response to the editorial "In Nicaragua, Nobody Won" (Nov. 8):

After his re-election President Reagan declared that he regarded his victory as a mandate for his policies. Now he is leading the United States into an adventure in Nicaragua.

Does acquisition of helicopters or fighter planes constitute a regional security threat sufficient to justify U.S. armed intervention? Is not the United States a sufficient security threat to Nicaragua to justify acquiring arms for defense? Have we forgotten so soon that we mined Nicaraguan waters in direct contravention of international law?

Have we given Mr. Reagan a mandate for war in Central America?

Wake up America, even in your euphoria. Speak out before we find ourselves in a ridiculous war.

L. KAPLAN.
Geneva.

Americans, in a very innocent way, have voted for a man, not the man's policies. I believe most Americans do not agree with the way Mr. Reagan has handled several issues, such as the federal deficit, health care and the "secret war" with Nicaragua. Unfortunately the president and his advisors may believe that they now have a mandate to do as they please.

DAVID N. BENJAMIN.
Trondheim, Norway.

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The Washington Post.

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مكتبة العدل

Activism of Church in U.S. Grows as Catholics Re-examine Allegiance to Democrats

By Margot Hornblower
Washington Post Service

WASHINGTON — The Roman Catholic Church, until recently a relatively quiet voice in national affairs, has become a highly visible player on the U.S. political scene in the last two years.

From the March 1983 pastoral letter on nuclear war, which engaged church leaders in a contentious battle with the Reagan administration, to criticism by the archbishop of New York and other prelates of the Democratic vice-presidential nominee, Geraldine A. Ferraro, for her statements on abortion, to the pastoral letter on U.S. economic policy released Sunday, the church is weighing into U.S. public-policy debates as never before.

The new activism among the church's 290 American bishops, who form its largest religious constituency, appears to be re-examining their traditional allegiance to the Democratic Party. In the presidential election on Nov. 6, President Ronald Reagan captured 56 percent of Catholic voters, according to exit polls, compared with the 47 percent in 1980.

"The pastoral on war and peace marked the significant emergence of an era of involvement of the bishops in matters of public policy," said Archbishop John J. O'Connor of New York. "Since colonial days, the bishops had taken a very low profile because they felt they had to

prove that Catholics were loyal, patriotic citizens and critics of government activities could jeopardize that status."

The activism of bishops who have come to power in the last few years reflects the spirit of the extraordinary revolution within the church wrought two decades ago by the liberalizing Second Vatican Council. Nonetheless, their

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newly aggressive stance has sparked debate within the U.S. church over how much political influence bishops should try to exercise and what issues they should emphasize.

"We are probably maturing more and more as a church," Archbishop O'Connor said. "In the U.S. over the past two centuries, Catholics have felt like they were second-class citizens. Now we come more and more to recognize not only our rightful role as citizens but our responsibility as church leaders to contribute to the body politic."

Representative Henry J. Hyde, Republican of Illinois, the Catholic leader of anti-abortion forces in Congress, said wryly:

"The bishops have been swept away by the prophet motive — that's P-R-O-P-H-E-T."

The bishops' high profile has produced a backlash from left and right, however. Last week a group of conservative Catholic businessmen, including the former secretary of the Treas-

ury, William E. Simon, and the former secretary of state, Alexander M. Haig Jr., moved to intercept the new economic pastoral letter, a liberal document that offers little comfort to the Reagan administration, with an alternative celebrating the virtues of capitalism.

Governor Mario M. Cuomo of New York clashed publicly with Archbishop O'Connor during the summer after the archbishop declared, "I don't see how a Catholic in good conscience can vote for a candidate who explicitly supports abortion." Mr. Cuomo, who opposes abortion but upholds the 1973 Supreme Court decision allowing it, took the comment personally.

"You have the archbishop of New York saying that no Catholic can vote for" Mayor Edward I. Koch, City Controller Harrison Jay Goldin, City Council President Carol Bellamy, Senator Daniel Patrick Moynihan or himself, the governor fumed.

Archbishop O'Connor backtracked, contending that he had been "misinterpreted" and was not telling anyone how to vote. In a televised press conference in September, however, he took issue with Ms. Ferraro by name, saying she had mistakenly "given the world to understand that Catholic teaching is divided on the subject of abortion."

That, coupled with the declaration of Archbishop Bernard Law of Boston and 18 New England bishops that abortion was "the key issue" in U.S. politics, led to fears that the

church hierarchy indirectly was endorsing the candidacy of Mr. Reagan, who favors restrictive anti-abortion laws.

The impression of partisanship was strengthened when Cardinal John Krol of Philadelphia appeared at a rally with Mr. Reagan, praising his support for Catholic school tuition tax credits.

The incidents — and the extensive publicity they received — have caused an uproar in the church. Bishop James W. Malone, head of the National Conference of Catholic Bishops, issued a statement three weeks before the election, declaring, "We do not seek the formation of a voting bloc. . . . The content of Catholic teaching leads us to take positions on many public issues; we are not a one-issue church."

Bishop Malone said the bishops "give special emphasis to two issues today. They are the prevention of nuclear war and the protection of unborn human life."

Concerned that the statements by Archbishop O'Connor and Archbishop Law had "confused" Catholics into thinking they should vote on the basis of a politician's stance on abortion alone, 23 bishops, led by Auxiliary Bishop Thomas J. Gumbleton of Detroit, issued a statement declaring themselves "gravely concerned" that abortion was eclipsing "the threat of nuclear warfare" in the campaign.

In a major speech at Georgetown University a

few weeks ago, Cardinal Joseph L. Bernardin of Chicago emphasized that the church's approach must be one of "a consistent ethic of life," the support of a "seamless garment" of issues that "consciously connects" the issues of war and abortion.

Cardinal Bernardin also made clear that the "seamless garment" included the moral teaching in the new economic pastoral, a document reflecting the "fairness" theme emphasized this year by the Democratic presidential nominee, Walter F. Mondale, and other party members. He acknowledged, however, "We obviously do not have a consensus on this point at present — even within the church."

Conservatives on the whole take a dim view of the "seamless garment."

"The seamless garment seems to protect a lot of liberals who get two out of three," said Mr. Hyde, a member of the House Foreign Affairs Committee. "They're for the liberal welfare agenda, they're against our defense policies, but they never vote with us on abortion."

Many Catholic Democrats in politics do not support the church's position on abortion, he said, because, "to be an upwardly mobile Democrat today, you have to be very liberal. To be a good liberal, you have to be a feminist. To be a feminist, you have to support abortion."

Although some critics say that Archbishop O'Connor crossed the line of partisanship by

taking on Ms. Ferraro, there is support in both parties for the bishops' activism. There is precedent, politicians note, in the activism of black churches in the Democratic Party and in the recent courtship of fundamentalist Christians by the Republicans.

Catholic bishops in the United States have been more outspoken than their colleagues in Western Europe. No European church document took a sharply critical position against its national government's policies, as did the U.S. bishops' pastoral letter on nuclear arms. Indeed, French bishops in a letter last November declared that nuclear deterrence was legitimate because of the "aggressive and dominating character of Marxist-Leninist ideology."

U.S. bishops, however, assert that their pastoral letters are in the mainstream of Catholic thought. While the church has been active in opposing the Reagan administration's military intervention in Central America, and the new economic letter calls for more attention to the Third World, there has been no endorsement of "liberation theology," which has led some members of the clergy in Latin America to embrace Marxism.

The new economic letter draws on the social encyclicals of Popes John XXIII, Paul VI and John Paul II. Indeed, in a visit to Canada last month, John Paul II decried "imperialistic monopolies" and called for a restructuring of the economy "so that human needs can be put before financial gain."

Bishops Will Continue Comment on U.S. Issues

Washington Post Service

WASHINGTON — The head of the nation's Roman Catholic bishops has pledged continuing efforts by the church to influence national policy on such issues as nuclear arms, abortion and human rights as well as economic justice, the topic of the bishops' pastoral letter released in draft form Sunday.

Bishop James W. Malone of Youngstown, Ohio, in his address here Monday opening the annual meeting of the National Conference of Catholic Bishops, said that

"on any of these four issues, silence on our part would approximate dereliction of pastoral duty and civic irresponsibility."

The bishop welcomed the emergence of "the religious issue" during the 1984 election campaign and expressed the hope that "with the election behind us it will be possible for the nation to address the public role of religion in a more systematic way."

Indirectly, Bishop Malone warned against limiting the church's political role to opposition to abortion, on which several bishops spoke out forcefully.

He urged against "a single-issue strategy" on the ground that "only by addressing a broad spectrum of issues can we do justice to the moral tradition we possess."

The more than 300 bishops at the conference also heard Monday from the Vatican's official representative in the United States, Archbishop Pio Laghi.

Archbishop Laghi indirectly addressed fears expressed by some that the U.S. government might attempt to use diplomatic ties with the Vatican, established this year, to exert undue influence on the church in the United States, for example, in the hope the Vatican might pressure U.S. bishops to modify the anti-nuclear stand they



Cardinal John Krol, left, talks to the papal nuncio, Pio Laghi.

adopted in a pastoral letter last year. "In no way and at no time," he said, "does the representative of the Holy See, in this dialogue with the public authorities, take less than full account of the views, concerns and policies of the bishops."

U.S. Boy Scouts Suspect Dioxin at Jamboree Site

Los Angeles Times Service

LOS ANGELES — The Boy Scouts of America said Monday that independent soil tests have been ordered at the site of its 1981 national jamboree at Fort A.P. Hill in Virginia to determine if 32,000 Scouts and adult leaders were exposed to the highly toxic chemical dioxin.

The decision to make independent tests followed the U.S. Army's disclosure Friday that the fort had been sprayed until 1972 with herbicides containing one of the most powerful of the 75 known dioxins, TCDD.

Chester Himes, Black Novelist, Dies

The Associated Press

BENISSA, Spain — Chester Himes, 75, the author of a series of detective novels set in Harlem, died Monday. According to the Spanish news agency, Mr. Himes had been ill for some time and died of a brain disease.

The author of "If He Hollers, Let Him Go," "Cotton Comes to Harlem," and "The Heat's On" had been living in the village of Moraira on the Alicante coast for the past 15 years. Before that he had lived for many years in Paris. Many of his books were first published in France.

Mr. Himes, who was born in Jefferson City, Missouri, developed a series of crime novels, which he called "black on black," set mainly in Harlem with two black detectives as heroes. Like many black American authors of his generation, his work was better known and appreciated outside the United States than at home.

In 1928, Mr. Himes was sentenced to 20 years in Ohio State Penitentiary for armed robbery. He served seven and a half years and during this time turned to writing, inspired by reading Dashiell Hammett.

His first novel was published in 1945. In 1953 he emigrated to Europe and lived in Paris, Arcachon, Mallorca and London.



Jack Devereaux Wrather Jr.

Jack Wrather, 66, California Entrepreneur

SANTA MONICA, California (LAT) — Jack Devereaux Wrather Jr., 66, a friend of presidents and entrepreneur who turned a Texas oil inheritance into a financial empire, died here Monday of cancer. In 1953 Mr. Wrather made an

acquisition that later became a characteristic of his mode of operations. He acquired all rights to "The Lone Ranger" for \$3 million — movie, TV, radio, comics and merchandising. Soon after, he acquired the rights to the "Lassie" series and "Sergeant Preston of the Yukon."

Mr. Wrather, who was married to the actress Bonita Granville, was also known as the man who revitalized the Queen Mary and resurrected the Spruce Goose — Howard R. Hughes' huge seaplane — into tourist attractions at Long Beach.

His support of Republican Party causes and his long friendship with President Ronald Reagan made him an influence in politics. He was among the first Republicans to urge Mr. Reagan to run for governor of California.

Other Deaths: Dorothy M. Johnson, 78, a Western author of such books as "The Man Who Shot Liberty Bells," Sunday at her home in Missoula, Montana. She also wrote "The Hanging Tree," "The Bloody Bozeman," "A Man Called Horse" and many others.

James C. Donnell 24, 74, former chairman of the board and chief executive officer of Marathon Oil Co., Saturday in New Orleans. He had been attending the annual meeting of the American Petroleum Institute.



Chris S. Brathwaite

Trinidad Sprinter Killed by Sniper

The Associated Press

EUGENE, Oregon — Chris S. Brathwaite, 35, who competed for his native country, Trinidad, as a sprinter in the 1976 and 1980 Olympic Games, was shot and killed by a sniper on the campus of the University of Oregon, the police said.

The sniper, Michael E. Feher, 19, of Everett, Washington, also wounded a student wrestler, Rick O'Shea, 22, before fatally shooting himself, the police said. They said they did not know the motive for the shootings.

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ARTS / LEISURE

Red Mitchell Finds Harmony in Sweden

By Michael Zwerin
International Herald Tribune

WARSAW — Red Mitchell was once a "bass for hire." He was, he says, a prostitute who took everything that came along.

He spent 12 years in Los Angeles, recording television and film soundtracks. "You can have a bunch of people doing the same work, some are prostituting themselves, some are not. The difference is whether the person enjoys it. I was not."

Worse, he seemed forever to be playing music that accompanied violent images. He began to feel he was contributing to the violence and to wonder why jazz was always connected to violence when "jazz musicians are such a nonviolent segment of society."

He gave free bass lessons in Watts and donated time to the Congress of Racial Equality. Still, he was making good money and paying big taxes, to support the Vietnam War. He felt both exploited and like an exploiter.

He would ask people who called him for sessions: "Does your movie glorify violence or perpetuate the acceptance of violence as a means of solving problems?" He began to get fewer calls.

"We have two sides to our nature. We are both individuals and group animals. And isn't jazz a perfect model?"

Like an experienced teacher, he pauses for the question to sink in. He has given a course called "The Lust to Play Jazz" at the Eastman and Manhattan schools of music and in European universities and at clinics.

"Isn't 'lust' a wonderful word," he said, "as in 'lust for life'?"

He says, "You can hear two notes from Zoot Sims and you know it's Zoot. At the same time he's kicking the rhythm section. It adds up to more than the sum of four people. The world is divided into two major 'isms.' One says: first, the other group first. America and Russia. And the crime is, we are told we must choose. Either/or. I refuse to choose. Anyone who tells me I must deny one side of my nature is in big trouble with me."

Torn between responsibilities to himself and to society, he moved to Sweden in 1968: "I find it comes closest to allowing me to be myself. But the word 'expatriate' does not mean we have lost our patriotism. It only means that we live away from the fatherland. Being American is part of my identity. I just find myself in tune with the majority about most things in Sweden, whereas I am totally out of tune with the majority in the U.S."

The list of names Mitchell has played with includes Red Norvo, Woody Herman, Billie Holiday, Shelly Manne, Gerry Mulligan, Ornette Coleman, Tommy Flanagan, Thad Jones and Woody Shaw, with whom he was playing last month at the Warsaw Jazz Jamboree. But a few months ago this bass virtuoso, who is on everybody's best-10 list, played piano and sang, opening for Nina Simone in a Stockholm theater.

Mitchell's mother was a journalist and poet in New Jersey, where he grew up. And his father's first love, although he was an executive for AT&T, was music.

After moving to Sweden, Mitchell began to add lyrics to the more than 70 tunes he has written. He wonders "why it took so long for the two to come together. I finally decided to start verbalizing my feelings and never be misunderstood again. Eventually, I would like to improvise words and music at the same time, to break down the barrier between the logical and the soulful."

One of his songs, "When I Have You," written in 1955 and recorded with the guitarist Jim Hall, "has two problems built into the title. It implies approval of sporadic relationships, and that you can own someone. It's very sexist. But all men have those tendencies. So the lyric that I wrote almost 30 years later turned out to be about the title."

"It goes, 'I'll always want to hold you, to have and to hold, and to mold you. I know that's wrong but that's what this song is about. No one can own a person, yet I cannot deny that this is what I try to do. When I have you...' The funny thing is the structure was already there. The words really did finally say what I could not verbalize in 1955."

As he tries to construct a verbal personality, Mitchell "stays on the map" by spending three or four months a year bass-playing in New York.

"It's always a wing and a prayer. Any self-respecting accountant would fire me as a client. I usually go over not knowing how I'm going to come back. Sometimes I come back with debts, sometimes with money in my pocket. But New York is still the jazz capital of the world and working there is the only way for my playing to improve. To keep the calluses on my fingers."

Though he is out a Swedish citizen, he has a subsidy, which automatically increases with inflation: "Isn't that civilized? One of the reasons I love the life there is that they appreciate the arts, and they



Red Mitchell, bass virtuoso

consider jazz one of them. I pay higher taxes in Sweden but I don't mind because they go for health care, not to invade Grenada.

"Americans ask me how I can live in a country that has one of the highest suicide rates in the world. I tell them I'd rather live next to a person who might take his own life rather than someone who might take mine."

He is working on a play in which

a jazz band serves as a model for society. He says his main object is, "to get a steady gig in a place with good acoustics where people sit sober and listen. Wouldn't that be nice? That's part of the plot."

Red Mitchell will be playing in Stockholm with Zoot Sims, Nov. 19 at the Castle Hotel and Nov. 23 at Mosebacker, and in New York at the Blue Note, Nov. 27-Dec. 2.

Rio de Janeiro Plans Rock Festival

United Press International

LONDON — A Brazilian firm has announced plans for an \$11-million, 10-day "Rock in Rio" festival to be held in Rio de Janeiro in mid-January.

The firm, Artplan, said the concert will feature Rod Stewart, Queen, George Benson and local Brazilian talent including Rita Lee, Gilberto Gil and Caetano Veloso. The organizers hope to draw between 1.5 and 2 million spectators from all over the world.

Jim Beach, manager of Queen, said, "It is a giant gamble, which is what rock and roll is all about."

Oscar Ornstein, an Artplan vice president, said "This will be the biggest festival of rock ever staged. About 350,000 people can sit down for each show and we expect a total of 1.5 to 2 million entries for the 10 shows."

Ornstein said Artplan is spending \$10 to \$11 million on the festival, which will feature 14 foreign acts and 14 Brazilian acts.

DOONESBURY



Tale of a Jewish Grandfather Makes a Good Play

By Sheridan Morley
International Herald Tribune

LONDON — To a crumbling anti-mal-infested czarist railway carriage at the back of the Moscow Railway shunting yards sometime in 1924, a Jewish inventor of considerable and starchy eccentricity is about to perfect the talking picture about five years ahead of the Warner brothers. The idea itself has a certain fascination, leading as it presumably would have to a musical remake of "Potemkin," not to mention an all-Soviet "Jazz Singer."

But Stephen Poliakoff's new play, "Breaking the Silence" (in a marvelous Royal Shakespeare Company production by Ron Daniels at the Barbican Pit), is not another trip down the might-have-been byways of history. Instead it is based on the true story of his own grandfather who, because of a little local difficulty involving Lenin's death and its effect on railway employment prospects, had to flee in his socks across the border without his invention.

In the end the Poliakoffs didn't do too badly: The soo took to inventing hospital beepers and the granddoo to being one of the best playwrights of his generation. But it is never quite clear why the grandfather had this terrible vision of himself as a mad old man trying to convince people that he was the true inventor of cinematic sound instead of pressing on to California like so many of his fellow exiles and turning the dream into a reality.

Partly that is because the playwright has no interest in his family once they reach Britain and partly it is because he doesn't have much interest in cinematic sound.

The silence that is being broken here is not really that of the cinema at all. It is the silence of the inventor's wife who, in his hour of need at the border, at last finds her voice

and saves his life. To that extent, it is a play about female liberation and the shift in family power structures that came with Communism. It's also a play about a son in revolt against his father, but so meandering is Daniel Massey as the manic inventor that in the end we really can only care about him — and wonder how long it will be before one of the best and most underrated actors of his generation gets to play Diaghilev, for which this performance would seem to be a last rehearsal.

THE BRITISH STAGE

Admittedly, Poliakoff has written a better part than a play: A man of wealth and influence suddenly turned into a minor Soviet bureaucrat ("I am not the right person to watch telephone poles being erected") is a funny idea. If you add to that the touching notion of a man already removed from reality now condemned to live in a railway carriage that may take off at any moment for Siberia or worse, you end up with an epic study in human destabilization.

It may seem odd that a man who has never yet managed to boil a kettle can invent talking pictures, and still odder that in Act 2 the play lurches into a Soviet re-run of "Pygmalion," with Massey trying to enlist the aid of his maid (Juliet Stevenson) in a cultural project unlikely to do her much good.

Jason Lake is touching as the gawky rebel son, and Gemma Jones wonderfully manages the transition from aristocratic wife to freedom organizer, but this remains Massey's evening, and not for the first time, he is giving one of the finest performances in the history of the RSC.

Out at Greenwich, Aotzoy Minghella's "Two Planks and a

Passion" is a good idea gone awry. Set in York during the summer of 1392, it concerns the arrival there of King Richard II while the city is in the midst of preparations for the already traditional Passion play. Like the crucifixion at Oberammergau, or the Palio at Siena, this tends to overwhelm the entire city, and involves rival guilds in huge outlays of expense and energy as they stage something halfway between a pageant and a festival. If you then bring on the king and his train (largely consisting of two queens, his wife and his boyfriend) the scene should be set for some enjoyable chaos. Amateur theatricals have, as Alan Ayckbourn established in "10 Times Table," always been good for a few unkind laughs, and the life of Richard II, as Shakespeare established in a play of that title, was seldom uninteresting.

Yet in taking on the two, Minghella has somehow delivered neither. We don't get to learn much about Richard beyond his invention of the handkerchief, and we get an only a sketchy idea of what it was like to be a citizen of York in the Passtoo season.

Bishopric jokes about London being in York with Oxford have been better done elsewhere (notably "Beyond the Fringe") and backstage gags about the running time and a fat leading man seem somehow misplaced when that leading man is having to play Christ on the cross. Cathryn Harrison as Anne of Bohemia, forever condemned to tour England in search of a decent bed and a rather too gay husband, hits just the right air of martyrdom.

Under its new quartet of joint directors (Braham Murray, Greg Hersov, James Maxwell and Casper Wrede), the Manchester Royal Exchange has a new stage adapta-

tion of "Great Expectations," which manages to be simultaneously efficient and oddly "unless Spotted perhaps by the recent nine-hour sprawl of the RSC's "Nicholas Nickleby," we come to "Great Expectations" expecting more than a competent editing job and a quick center through the highlights of the narrative.

In abandoning traditional Dickensiana (no fog, no streets, no extracts from other plays that the characters visit or perform), the Manchester Company has also abandoned much in the way of style or atmosphere, and we are left with a kind of workshop staging in the round, which seems to have no coherent style or attitude to the original book.

Avril Elgar is, however, an unusually sprightly Miss Havisham, cropping up all over the stage and even descending from the roof to stage-manage the proceedings, and Amanda Donohoe is a gorgeous Estella.

And finally, the Ritz Hotel, which under the elegant new management of Julian Payne is fast becoming one of the best cabaret spots in town, has until the end of this month (on Wednesdays and Fridays only) Liz Robertson doing an intriguing songbook of minor American classics.

Although the selection is not as Broadway-oriented as might have been expected from Mrs. Alan Jay Lerner, she does do the title song from her husband's "Dance a Little Closer," still shamefully unknown over here, and then moves on through echoes of Sondheim to the work of Carly Simon and Gretchen Cryer, American women who write one-act plays disguised as songs. It adds up to an hour of rare lyrical delight.

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INSIGHTS

'Troll Busting' Thrives in California City

In Counterculture Mecca, Some Open 'Hunting Season' on Transients

By Eric Bailey
Los Angeles Times Service

SANTA CRUZ, California — Jack Conrad knew he was in for trouble when the pickup truck began heading his way.

Mr. Conrad, a 29-year-old drifter from Illinois, backed up defensively. But the truck kept moving slowly forward, cornering the bearded transient against a chain-link fence. Two teen-agers jumped from the truck's cab and pounced on him. "Off the streets, troll," they shouted as they beat him up. "They were just young kids full of the dickens," Mr. Conrad said last week. "I try to forget about it; then somebody talks about it and it all just comes right back."

The attack on Mr. Conrad on Sept. 6 is one in a rash of recent assaults on transients in this northern California coastal community long considered a mecca for the counterculture. The transients have been dubbed "trolls" because they often take refuge under city bridges.

Violence against the homeless is disturbing in any city, but in Santa Cruz, where backpacks and Birkenstock sandals seem to be standard issue and rainbow window stickers adorn Volkswagen vans, the often brutal assaults seem incongruous.

Nonetheless, the attacks apparently have struck a chord in this resort and university city of 42,000 nestled between Monterey Bay and the redwood-studded hills of the Coastal Range. In September, a downtown clothing store, playing off the success of the movie "Ghostbusters," began printing "Troll Busters" T-shirts with a caricature of a drooping degenerate covered by a red circle and slash. In less than three weeks, the store owner, Ron Trinchero, sold nearly 3,000 of the shirts.

"They sold an awful amount of those shirts," said Peter Carota, director of a local soup kitchen that feeds scores of transients daily. "It means there's other people out in the community with the same strong sentiment against street people. It's almost like it's open warfare now, like it's OK to come out and treat transients like subhumans. It's like hunting season is open."

OTHERS also point to the shirt sales as a sign that many Santa Cruz residents are fed up with the vagrants, who live in the hills outside town and jam the city's parks and seven-block downtown mall, an open-air stretch of trendy shops, red-tiled walkways and verdant gardens.

"I think the shirts were people's way of making a statement," Mr. Trinchero said. "They're saying they don't like these tran-

sients. They contribute nothing to the community. They're freeloaders."

City officials do not know how many transients live in Santa Cruz, but most agree that they number in the hundreds. They are drawn by the area's temperate climate, expanses of beach front, acres of forest and reputation for being what is known as "mellow."

During a two-month period beginning in late July, 19 transients were assaulted, according to police. Law enforcement officials fear that many more incidents have not been reported by vagrants worried about being jailed for past run-ins with the law.

With the rainy season setting in, the number of attacks has dwindled in recent weeks, but police fear a renewal of violence.

"I've been here 17 years and I've never seen anything like this," said Sergeant Bill Alfuffi, who has investigated the attacks. "I have no doubt this violence may rear up again."

Police Chief Jack Bassett, however, played down the attacks. "The street people are always a major irritant to the people of this city," he said. "We're a small geographic area. You put 100 to 200 hippies in it and you create a problem. Every time a person turns around, they're bumping into it."

Police have made no arrests. They believe the attacks have been carried out by groups of teen-agers or young adults.

"We've either got a bunch of kids driving over from San Jose on a weekend lark or we've got people living right here in the area doing it," Sergeant Alfuffi said. "In either case, it's kids looking for excitement."

The transients, meanwhile, talk about striking back. "The air of violence here in Santa Cruz is intense," said Keith McKinney, a 35-year-old drifter. "People aren't acting rationally. They're getting weapons. They don't want to have some kid strum their head."

"We're thinking of forming a troll-busters patrol," added a transient who calls himself Dancing Dick. "The basic plan is to set the troll busters up. We'd bait them by having a guy in a sleeping bag or out on the street. When they went for him, we'd come and use their own medicine against them."

It is that kind of talk that has police worried. "I don't like what it could bring," Sergeant Alfuffi said. "Some of the transients tripping around here are combat veterans. They've taken their lumps this far. A few more lumps to get even with the kids that are doing this wouldn't surprise me."

David Tokor, a transient who says he camps each night with two shotgun, said: "What this all is progressing into is an out-

standing little war. People are really ready to hurt anyone that messes with them."

There are many explanations for the attacks. Mike Roitkin, a lecturer in community studies at the University of California, Santa Cruz, and one of two Socialists elected to the City Council in 1980, contends that the "troll busting" is a sign of the times.

"It's this notion that we've got to stand up and make America strong, the whole Reagan ideology," Mr. Roitkin said. "Adults are saying that something has to be done about the transients, that they've got to be driven out of town. That creates a sort of moral backing for young punks to go out and start bashing people."

Councilwoman Katy Sears-Williams explains the attacks in Darwinian terms. "We are members of the animal kingdom and it's a reasonable reaction for society to want to rid itself of something that it sees as a real problem, as a real threat," she said. "I think the troll busting is a social reaction that we ought to expect. To expect people to say, 'Hey, this is OK,' and keep putting up with these transients would be very unusual."

Residents and city officials seem to agree on one thing: Transients pose problems for city merchants. Shop owners say the vagrants routinely harass women, urinate in planter boxes or on store fronts, eat out of garbage cans, panhandle and generally burt sales.

"They have a right to live, but they don't have a right to mess up the front of my shop," said Sylvia Mason, who runs a clothing store on the downtown mall.

Drugs also have been a problem. Earlier this month, a police narcotics unit raided a city park and arrested 10 persons, including five transients.

Prompted by merchants' complaints, the City Council voted in September to join the university in funding an \$11,000 study of the transient problem.

The recent wave of assaults began in December 1983, when three local high school students seriously wounded a San Jose taxi driver in an attack with a homemade bazooka. The teen-agers later told police they "were out hunting trolls," whom they described as "long-haired hippies. Commies and transients."

It was not until last summer, however, that a pattern began to emerge.

The worst incidents were in August. One transient suffered a broken leg evading a truck. A week later, a gang of youths armed with sticks attacked a 19-year-old vagrant from Nebraska while he was in his sleeping bag on a downtown knoll. After beating the man, the group threw him off a 15-foot (4.5-meter) cliff. The man suffered bruises and numerous cuts.

Tattered Angola Appears Ready To Take Gambles for Self-Respect

By Jim Hoagland
Washington Post Service

LUANDA, Angola — It has been nine years since the white settlers who styled this city as Africa's Lisbon abruptly left, abandoning it to revolutionaries who vowed that Luanda would, as the tide of history turned in this region, become Africa's Hanoi.

Today, such dreams lie broken in the desolate streets of Luanda, a city gripped by a continuing agony that contradicts the ideological victory that revolutionaries and liberals hoped for and that conservatives around the world feared.

Instead of being a springboard for revolutionary challenge to white rule in South Africa and pro-Western African regimes on its border, Angola is a nation ravaged by chaos and international intervention.

Mounds of rotting garbage drape the mile-long curb of the bay-side promenade that the Portuguese lined with mosaic tile and called the Marginal. Shops and businesses throughout this city of a million people are abandoned, their broken plate-glass windows replaced by boards or simply not replaced at all. At one pharmacy, a single bottle of shampoo sits amid empty shelves, a reminder of the collapse of the consumer economy here.

On an evening cooled by breezes off the Atlantic, trash fires glow along a street that formerly was a principal business artery. Beside a rusted car, a woman and two small children quickly pick through a garbage heap, burying to beat the curfew that will begin in a few hours.

Angola today is a severely wounded country struggling to recover, a place where there is nothing to buy and for most people no money to buy it with, a place where jobs and work are therefore largely meaningless and absenteeism the rule. That is what foreign residents repeatedly tell a visitor returning for the first time since colonial rule collapsed in retreat in 1975.

It is, on the surface, as chaotic as the Portuguese administrators and their white American and South African supporters predicted it would be if colonialism was to end and Africans were allowed to rule themselves.

And on the surface, the consequences of letting the final variant of the Nixon Doctrine go down to defeat in Angola appear to be as dire as Secretary of State Henry A. Kissinger predicted at the time. Cuban soldiers in trucks and East German security personnel in jeeps bounce through Luanda's dusty streets regularly.

BUT Angola today is a far more complex historical phenomenon than those simplistic projections had foreseen. Beneath the visible signs of disaster a new spirit of political pragmatism is stirring as the nominally Marxist-Leninist government reacts to the enormous problems it has helped create and others of which it has been the victim.

"The Angolan story is hardly finished, whatever the strategists in Moscow or Washington think and however they may try to impose their designs on reality here," said a diplomatic observer. "The local reality is that Angola is faced with an enormous gamble that will determine not only this government's survival, but also a lot about the future of the conflict between African nationalism and white rule in this region. The difference now is that the government is becoming confident enough to contemplate taking the gamble."

"You are going to Angola?" the worldly, upper-class Portuguese matron in Lisbon asked, a look of horror on her face. "But there is nothing to eat there. There is no water. The Cubans run it." Her dismay deepened as she thought about the prospect and she quickly broke off the conversation.

Her warnings, repeated by journalistic colleagues and others in Lisbon, turned out to be exaggerated. There is food, even a good beer brewed locally, as long as you have foreign currency to pay for it at Luanda's only comfortable hotel. The hotel, the Presidente, has been open for business only a few months and is now filled with airline crews, returning Portuguese technicians and Western oil executives seeking to get in on new economic opportunities here.

But there are no taxis in this town, leaving a visitor to rely on his feet and on the kindness of strangers — anyone with wheels. The only form of public transportation is a small number of buses that reel as hundreds of Angolans pile in to and onto them.

The colonialists here who said white rule would survive and create a thriving, fair society fled in an instant and left behind them a system so fragile and bankrupt it collapsed overnight. The African nations that supported the guerrillas and said independence would right the most elementary wrongs of this society have seen instead a continuing war that is as much tribal as it is political. And the Soviets and Americans who sought to turn it into an ideological battleground now watch the Angolans try to edge away from ideology.

LITTLE more than a decade ago, Angola seemed to have become the jewel in the badly tarnished Portuguese colonial crown. Wealth was beginning to pour in from oil, coffee, diamonds and agricultural exports. The beginning of serious revolutionary activity had jolted the Portuguese out of 500 years of complacency and exploitation. They were beginning to examine ways of extending privilege beyond the small circle of mixed-race and black Angolans they had accepted into the system.

That change had barely begun when radical young Portuguese army officers, weary of colonial warfare, overthrew Lisbon's dictatorship and offered to turn power over to African nationalists in Guinea-Bissau and Cape Verde. Angola. Here, the African nationalist movement was fractured along ideological and tribal lines that quickly drew both superpowers and neighboring South Africa into the struggle for control of Angola.

The outside involvement escalated the conflict. It also helped frighten the Lisbon government and the more than 300,000 white settlers, who had formed the economic and political infrastructure of this country of seven million inhabitants, into pulling out of Angola and rushing home.

The exodus would itself have been sufficient to ensure that the prophecies of collapse and chaos would come true. Left behind in ruins was a system that up to independence had produced no more than 250 qualified African elementary school teachers, two pilots and a handful of professionals in other areas.

The brief civil war and its bitter aftermath created a new instability. The Soviet Union and Cuba rushed aid to their surrogates, who were to emerge victorious, and the United States and South Africa armed their proxies and helped them carry their war close to Luanda before the losing. It was to be Mr. Kissinger's last decision in office to let local forces do the fighting for Western objectives with Western arms and money.



Angolan troops during the fight for independence.

Any hopes for reviving the economy were quickly crushed under the weight of a centralized bureaucracy, imposed on the country by the victorious Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola, known as the MPLA.

A farmer found that to get a simple spare part for a tractor he had to submit a request to the Ministry of Agriculture in Luanda, which then had to pass it on to the Ministry of Planning, which would have to approve the foreign currency allocation for it. Farming came to a halt quickly. Instead of exporting food, Angola became a major food importer.

The network of Portuguese traders who had managed the nation's retail trade and its coffee exports was suddenly gone. Coffee exports plummeted to 10 percent of the sales recorded during colonial times. Insecurity and theft in the diamond areas cut exports from 2.4 million carats in 1974 to one-fourth that figure today, according to professional estimates.

THREE invasions by South African troops and the continuing rebellion led by the guerrilla chieftain Jonas Savimbi have devastated Angola's southern and eastern provinces. More than 130,000 refugees have fled the south, the country's three major rail lines have been shut down by sabotage and hydroelectric dams and power lines are destroyed by Mr. Savimbi's men on a fairly regular schedule now.

In an air-conditioned seaside villa 10 miles

under the gaze of two of their umber carrying automatic rifles.

How much do the Russians, Eastern Europeans and Cubans run Angola?

It is a question that predictably brings a brusque and defensive response from Angolan officials, who say they appreciate the help the "comrade internationalists" have given following the Portuguese pullout, but insist it has not compromised Angola's sovereign and independent status.

"We are not a closed country," Mr. dos Santos said. "We are a nonaligned country that wants to coexist in peace with countries of differing social and political systems." He reiterated that Angola wants diplomatic relations with the United States, which refuses to establish them.

At Luanda's military airport, Antonov transports and other Soviet planes are tended by Soviet technicians and managers. In all, there are thought to be in Angola 2,000 Soviet and Eastern European technicians providing maintenance, training pilots, advising security operations and doing some high-level military coordination, as well as other tasks.

But it is the estimated 25,000 Cuban troops and 6,000 civilians who have created the most controversy and kept the Reagan administration in pursuit of a regional peace agreement that it might otherwise have let die. Washington's obsession with inflicting diplomatic and military defeats on Fidel Castro wherever possi-

'There is a confidence in the army that was not there before,' said an observer. 'It is the reason the government can pursue the diplomatic options with the United States as deeply as it has.'

(16 kilometers) south of Luanda, José Eduardo dos Santos contemplates reports of such drastic conditions without betraying a hint of despair or disappointment. The 42-year-old president of Angola exudes the determination that has always marked his style, and a confidence that foreigners who watch him closely say is new.

Trained as a petroleum engineer in the Soviet Union, Mr. dos Santos has tried cautiously but systematically in his five years to consolidate power in the faction-ridden party that rules Angola. He appears to have applied engineering principles to politics and to have succeeded in a step-by-step isolation of potential rivals within the Popular Movement.

Earlier this year, Mr. dos Santos stopped holding regular meetings of his cabinet and created instead a nine-member Defense and Security Council that now makes major policy decisions for the country.

It is composed primarily of dos Santos loyalists drawn from the 12-member Politburo of the Popular Movement, which converted itself from a liberation movement to a vanguard party in 1977. The party reportedly has about 30,000 members, and can count on the support of the 120,000 members of the national trade union syndicate.

One of Mr. dos Santos' allies on the Defense and Security Council is Lopo de Nascimento, the planning minister, who acknowledged that the party made enormous economic mistakes after independence, and who said the present regime must improve things by decentralizing and emphasizing efficiency, particularly in agriculture.

"We are considering ways to give more decision-making power and resources to the provincial governments and to let provinces keep part of the foreign currency earnings they generate to encourage enterprise there," Mr. do Nascimento said. "We have to be more flexible than we have been" in providing incentives and encouraging the private sector. He described the state marketing board set up to handle coffee sales as "a monster" and said: "We cannot solve our problems without the help of our farmers."

On a Sunday, the "internationalists" as the foreigners who live and work in Angola are known, gather in knots along the beaches that curve in an arc around The Island, Luanda's once-fashionable resort area across the bay.

FINNISH relief workers, Cuban officers mixing easily with Angolan counterparts, French oil company employees and Soviet air traffic controllers retreat from the tensions of the work week to The Island. Up the beach, however, one group has not left the cares of the "real world" behind. Dressed in bright blue exercise suits, about 20 East German technicians, believed to work for the department of state security, move about their separate beach

ble has made Angola the centerpiece of current U.S. policy in Africa.

In addition to the combat units deployed in defense positions along the Lubango rail line, a dozen or so Cuban advisers are thought to be stationed with each of the Angolan Army's battalions and to have been instrumental in organizing and training those battalions, according to reliable witnesses.

BUT these witnesses also reported that Angola is beginning to take over more of the training of its rapidly expanding army, which is thought to number about 65,000. And a trip with the Angolan Air Force to the war zone of the south confirmed that fully trained Angolan pilots are taking over more of the flying missions, although Cuban helicopter pilots remain an important part of anti-guerrilla warfare.

"There is a confidence in the army that was not there before," said a trained observer. "It is the reason the government can pursue the diplomatic option with the United States as deeply as it has, and to propose to the South Africans that the Cubans will go if the South Africans will get out of the picture and cut off supplies to Mr. Savimbi's guerrillas."

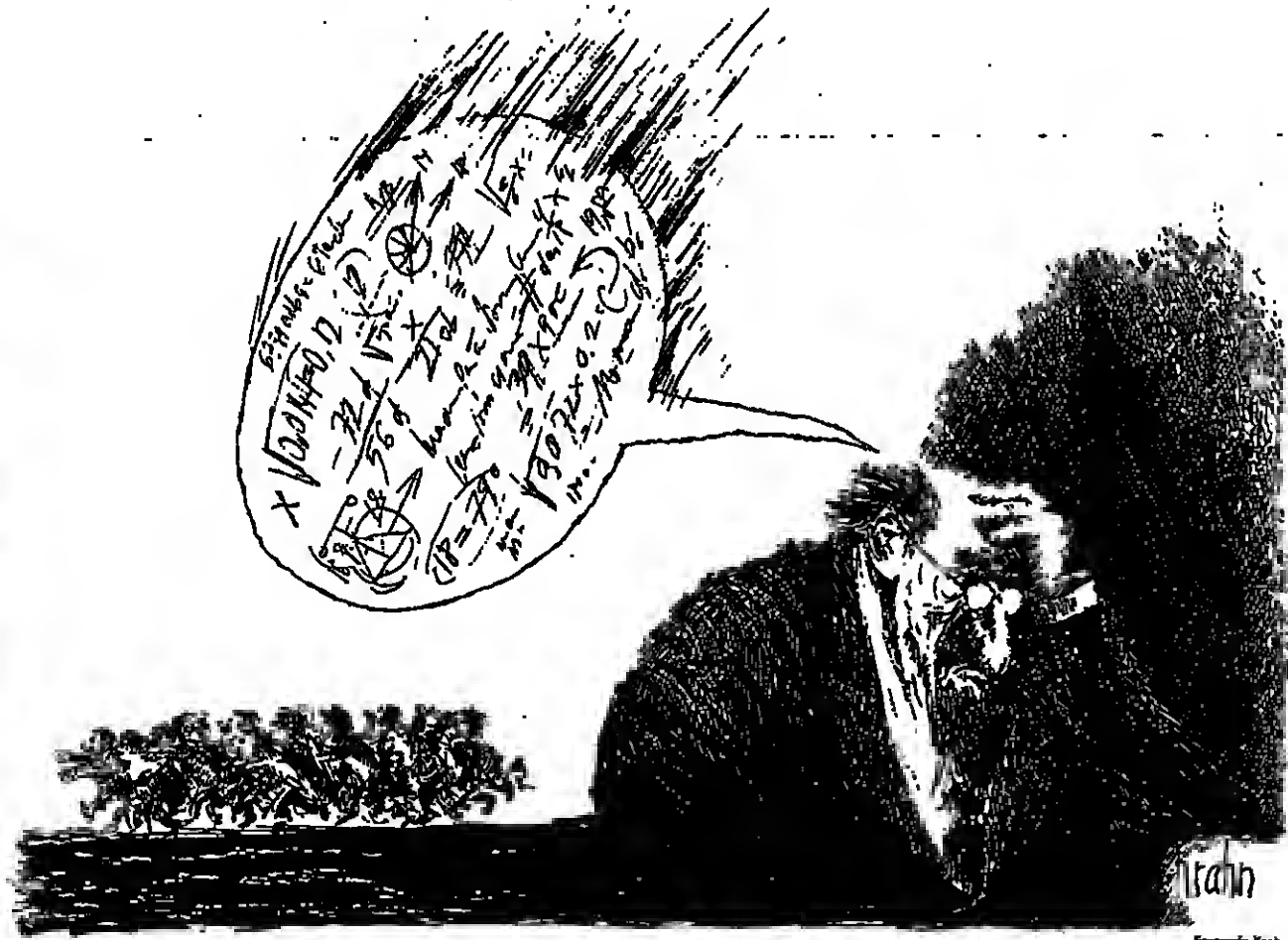
"Dos Santos has to know that Savimbi has stockpiled two or three years worth of supplies in the forests out there, and that it will be a hard fight for them in a one-against-one struggle," the observer said. "But it is a gamble that the Luanda government looks like it may be ready to take on."

Despite everything, the Portuguese are still the foreigners who matter here. And it is more than the fact that Portuguese is the national language that permits Angola's hundreds of linguistically different tribes to converse with each other. There are suggestions of Portuguese culture here that goes deeper than colonial heritage in other parts of Africa.

For the poorest residents of this demoralized city, there are two classes of people. They either live "on the asphalt," and therefore are well to do, or "on the sand," in the shantytowns that have mushroomed across the sandy outskirts of the city since independence.

On a recent Sunday at The Island, 30,000 Angolans turned out for the first national party held since independence. Sponsored by the local radio station and a few of the surviving businesses, it offered unusual plenty. Rival bands played pop songs, children danced beneath palm trees, a few drunks roamed the crowd and enormous quantities of beer were consumed.

It was, in short, a boozey, sultry Sunday afternoon typical of tropical African capitals. For desolate Angola, the scene represented both progress and hope.



In Egypt, Astronomers Track Satellites, Study Planets and Contend With Muftis

By David Lamb
Los Angeles Times Service

CAIRO — Early one morning in June, well before sunrise, Mohammed Fahim was awakened by the telephone. He groped his way through the darkened living room and, picking up the receiver, heard the breathless words: "The Saudis are celebrating!"

"Well, they're wrong," replied Mr. Fahim, geophysicist who is director of the Helwan Observatory outside Cairo. "We've computed it and computed it and, by the moon, the feast doesn't start until 3 P.M. today."

Mr. Fahim should know. His is the only major observatory in the Arab world. The 30 scientists there are quick to remind visitors that 5,000 years ago, when Europe was populated by primitive tribes, Egyptians were studying the stars and the planets.

However, the timing of Islamic fasts and feasts must be worked out, according to the Koran, on the basis of how the moon is seen by the naked eye. Thus, Moslem traditionalists reject a scientific projection of when the crescent moon will appear to signal the start of Ramadan, a month of fasting. They insist on

seeing it personally, as the prophet Mohammed did 13 centuries ago.

The result is a good deal of confusion, with different Moslem countries starting Ramadan on different days. When Mr. Fahim received the call from his colleagues, saying the Saudis had declared that Ramadan had ended and the feast could begin, he knew that science and Islam were once again at loggerheads.

"Certainly, the Koran recognizes scientific theories, so there is no conflict per se," Mr. Fahim said. "The Koran speaks of solar systems, of people living in other places. This is science."

"Where we differ with the muftis is in saying the moon must be seen with the naked eye. If you were in a closed room and were told that Ramadan had ended, you would begin the feast. So what's the difference? We're trying to get the muftis to see our point of view on this."

THE state-run Helwan Observatory, 15 miles (24 kilometers) south of Cairo, has other functions besides contending with the muftis, or Moslem religious leaders. Among other things, the scientists track satellites, study the solar system and measure the continental

drift. A seismic monitoring station there is a link in the Standard American Worldwide Network of Seismic Stations.

Operated under the auspices of the Egyptian Academy of Scientific Research and Technology, the observatory was built in 1903, when Helwan was a village of 5,000 inhabitants and pollution was unknown. But by 1961, Helwan had become an overcrowded suburb of Cairo. Smog and city illumination were hindering the scientists' work and the observatory was forced to decentralize.

The 74-inch (1.87-meter) reflector telescope was moved to Kaitamia, 30 miles east of Cairo, and the magnetic station to Massara, 45 miles southwest of Cairo. Urban encroachment is now threatening both sites. Mr. Fahim said that by the year 2000 the facilities will have to be moved again.

Egyptian universities graduate only about six astronomers a year now, but as far back as 5700 B.C. the Egyptians were the source of the most important classical science in the world. Later, philosophers and scientists such as Pythagoras and Archimedes traveled to Egypt to study its advanced culture.

The Egyptians were probably the first people to use the year instead of months as a measure of time. Their knowledge of the heavens enabled them to orient the pyramids toward the North Star; they identified the Big Dipper and they used the difference in the sun's altitude at Alexandria and Aswan at the time of the summer solstice to measure the earth's radius with remarkable accuracy.

Mr. Fahim speaks proudly of the research going on at the Helwan Observatory. It is work that directly affects the daily lives of most Egyptians because the scientists determine the time for praying, a five-times-a-day ritual. On that, the muftis accept the scientists' word.

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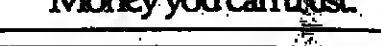
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Nov. 13

NASDAQ National Market Prices

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Low 3 PM Cst		Mid		High	
3	4%	3	3%	3	3%
4	4%	4	4%	4	4%
5	4%	5	5%	5	5%
6	4%	6	6%	6	6%
7	4%	7	7%	7	7%
8	4%	8	8%	8	8%
9	4%	9	9%	9	9%
10	4%	10	10%	10	10%
11	4%	11	11%	11	11%
12	4%	12	12%	12	12%
13	4%	13	13%	13	13%
14	4%	14	14%	14	14%
15	4%	15	15%	15	15%
16	4%	16	16%	16	16%
17	4%	17	17%	17	17%
18	4%	18	18%	18	18%
19	4%	19	19%	19	19%
20	4%	20	20%	20	20%
21	4%	21	21%	21	21%
22	4%	22	22%	22	22%
23	4%	23	23%	23	23%
24	4%	24	24%	24	24%
25	4%	25	25%	25	25%
26	4%	26	26%	26	26%
27	4%	27	27%	27	27%
28	4%	28	28%	28	28%
29	4%	29	29%	29	29%
30	4%	30	30%	30	30%
31	4%	31	31%	31	31%
32	4%	32	32%	32	32%
33	4%	33	33%	33	33%
34	4%	34	34%	34	34%
35	4%	35	35%	35	35%
36	4%	36	36%	36	36%
37	4%	37	37%	37	37%
38	4%	38	38%	38	38%
39	4%	39	39%	39	39%
40	4%	40	40%	40	40%
41	4%	41	41%	41	41%
42	4%	42	42%	42	42%
43	4%	43	43%	43	43%
44	4%	44	44%	44	44%
45	4%	45	45%	45	45%
46	4%	46	46%	46	46%
47	4%	47	47%	47	47%
48	4%	48	48%	48	48%
49	4%	49	49%	49	49%
50	4%	50	50%	50	50%
51	4%	51	51%	51	51%
52	4%	52	52%	52	52%
53	4%	53	53%	53	53%
54	4%	54	54%	54	54%
55	4%	55	55%	55	55%
56	4%	56	56%	56	56%
57	4%	57	57%	57	57%
58	4%	58	58%	58	58%
59	4%	59	59%	59	59%
60	4%	60	60%	60	60%
61	4%	61	61%	61	61%
62	4%	62	62%	62	62%
63	4%	63	63%	63	63%
64	4%	64	64%	64	64%
65	4%	65	65%	65	65%
66	4%	66	66%	66	66%
67	4%	67	67%	67	67%
68	4%	68	68%	68	68%
69	4%	69	69%	69	69%
70	4%	70	70%	70	70%
71	4%	71	71%	71	71%
72	4%	72	72%	72	72%
73	4%	73	73%	73	73%
74	4%	74	74%	74	74%
75	4%	75	75%	75	75%
76	4%	76	76%	76	76%
77	4%	77	77%	77	77%
78	4%	78	78%	78	78%
79	4%	79	79%	79	79%
80	4%	80	80%	80	80%
81	4%	81	81%	81	81%
82	4%	82	82%	82	82%
83	4%	83	83%	83	83%
84	4%	84	84%	84	84%
85	4%	85	85%	85	85%
86	4%	86	86%	86	86%
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92	4%	92	92%	92	92%
93	4%	93	93%	93	93%
94	4%	94	94%	94	94%
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96	4%	96	96%	96	96%
97	4%	97	97%	97	97%
98	4%	98	98%	98	98%
99	4%	99	99%	99	99%
100	4%	100	100%	100	100%

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